

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 107622  
ORIGIN ACDA-10

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DRAFTED BY ACDA/MA:PSCORDEN  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 107622

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE ON CTB NEGOTIATIONS

DELIVER TO ACDA DIRECTOR PAUL WARNKE BY OPENING OF BUSINESS  
MAY 12. ACDA DISTRIBUTION ONLY.

1. FOLLOWING MEMORANDUM RECEIVED MAY 11.

BEGIN TEXT.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, WASHINGTON, DC 20506

MAY 11, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAUL WARNKE, FRANK PRESS, REGINALD  
BARTHOLOMEW, WALTER SLOCOMBE, GEN WILLIAM Y. SMITH,  
ROBERT BOWIE, GEN ALFRED STARBIRD.

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SUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE ON CTB NEGOTIATIONS

ATTACHED, AS AGREED IN LAST WEEK'S SCC SENIOR WORKING  
GROUP MEETING, IS A DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE CONCERNING

OUR INITIAL POSITION FOR CTB NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS.

THE DIRECTIVE REFLECTS INTERAGENCY AGREEMENT ON MOST OF THE KEY ISSUES AS EXPRESSED AT THE MEETING, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE TIMING OF A CESSATION OF TESTING. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THIS ISSUE WILL PROBABLY REQUIRE FURTHER SCC DISCUSSION AND EVENTUAL DECISION BY THE PRESIDENT.

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR COMMENTS ON THE DIRECTIVE BY FRIDAY, MAY 13.

(SIGNED) JOHN M. MARCUM

BEGIN TEXT ATTACHMENT

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

MAY 11, 1977

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE/NSC

TO: THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY OF STATE, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,

ALSO: THE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET; THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS;  
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THE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY; THE DIRECTOR, ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY, THE CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF; THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, THE ADMINISTRATOR, ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION;

SUBJECT: NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ON TERMINATION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS

HAVING REVIEWED THE RESPONSE TO PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW MEMORANDUM NSC-16, I WOULD LIKE TO INITIATE NEGOTIATION OF A MULTILATERAL TREATY TO BAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. THE US DELEGATION FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE CHAIRED BY THE DIRECTOR, ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY, WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM STATE, DEFENSE, THE ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION, AND OTHER AGENCIES AS

APPROPRIATE, UNDER THE GENERAL SUPERVISION OF THE NSC SPECIAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

AS THE FIRST STEP IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THE US SHOULD SEEK AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON THE KEY ELEMENTS OF A MULTILATERAL TREATY THAT WOULD EMBODY A COMPREHENSIVE PROHIBITION ON NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS IN ALL ENVIRONMENTS. WITH SOVIET CONCURRENCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM SHOULD BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS AS EARLY AS FEASIBLE. THE US POSITION SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- THE TREATY'S ENTRY INTO FORCE SHOULD NOT REQUIRE THE ADHERENCE OF FRANCE OR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

-- IN ADDITION TO A "SUPREME INTERESTS" WITHDRAWAL CLAUSE, THERE SHOULD BE PROVISION FOR A REVIEW CONFERENCE WITH THE OPTION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE TREATY AFTER A PERIOD OF ABOUT FIVE YEARS.

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-- THE TREATY SHOULD PROHIBIT NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES AS WELL AS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS.

WITH REGARD TO VERIFICATION OF THE AGREEMENT, THE US POSITION SHOULD BE THAT THE TREATY SHOULD PROVIDE FOR MONITORING OF COMPLIANCE THROUGH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION AUGMENTED BY INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF SEISMIC DATA. IN ADDITION, THE INITIAL US POSITION SHOULD INCLUDE CONSIDERATION OF MEASURES WHICH MIGHT SUPPLEMENT THESE PROVISIONS, SUCH AS:

-- INSTALLATION OF UNMANNED, TAMPER-DETECTING SEISMOMETERS ON US AND SOVIET TERRITORY; AND

-- ON-SITE INSPECTIONS AT THE LOCATION OF QUESTIONABLE EVENTS, WHICH COULD BE REQUESTED BY ANY PARTY OR BY A FACT-FINDING CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF TREATY PARTIES.

THE US DELEGATION SHOULD PROPOSE THAT ONCE AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON KEY ELEMENTS OF A MULTILATERAL TREATY, THE USSR, US AND UK SHOULD REFER THESE ELEMENTS TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT FOR NEGOTIATION OF AN APPROPRIATE TREATY TEXT, AND JOINTLY ANNOUNCE THAT EACH WOULD REFRAIN FROM CONDUCTING ANY NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF NEGOTIATION OF THIS MULTILATERAL TREATY.

END TEXT ATTACHMENT CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**TAGS:** PARM, US, UR  
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